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THE WHISKY INSURRECTION A GENERAL VIEW

BY R. T. WILEY

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The Whisky Insurrection

A General View

BY RICHARD T. WILEY

Author of "Sim Greene and Tom the Tinker's Men," "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Elizabeth, Pa.," etc.

ELIZABETH, PA.
Herald Printing House
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FOREWORD.

By request of the Washington County Historical Society, a sketch of the Whisky Insurrection in Southwestern Pennsylvania, in the last decade of the Eighteenth Century, was prepared, and was read May 4, 1908, at a meeting of that body at Washington, Pa. Subsequently, by invitation, the greater portion of it was given by the writer at a meeting of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, at Pittsburg. From time to time requests have been received for its publication in convenient form, and it is now given to the public in response to these requests.

R. T. W.

Elizabeth, Pa., February, 1912.

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The Whisky Insurrection

INTRODUCTORY.

Our point of view has much to do with our estimate of things and events, as we look upon them. Sometimes too close proximity gives us an exaggerated view of that upon which we look, even to the shutting out of related things of vastly greater importance. A silver dime, held close to the eyeball, is sufficient to blot out of view the sky with its vista of unnumbered worlds. But, on the other hand, with some objects of commanding importance, a distant view is necessary to gain an adequate perception of them. A mountain range, seen from its base, may appear to be comparatively insignificant, and it is only when viewed from distant heights that its noble proportions are appreciated.

The Whisky Insurrection, in the southwestern counties of Pennsylvania, in the last decade of the Eighteenth Century, figures as an obscure chapter in the history of our nation. Indeed, most of the writers of our national chronicles dismiss it with a few brief paragraphs, and as a result the average student has but a hazy general notion of it. Even the most of those who live amid the scenes which formed the principal theater of its action are found to be far from well posted concerning it. For years the present writer has been interested in this subject, and has pursued it along every line open to him. Everything written concerning it, so far as could be learned of, has been procured and read. Its principal scenes have been visited, inspected and studied, and many of the descendants of its chief actors have been interviewed. It has been looked upon at close range, as to its scenes of action, and, necessarily, from the eminences of distance in point of time. The result of all this has

been to beget a belief, which has grown into a firm conviction, that its importance as a national event is not adequately appreciated.

It was a distinct and serious menace to the integrity and even the existence of the young republic. Though it ended in fiasco, the potentialities of disunion and destruction existed in it. Given a more sincere, unselfish, capable and fearless leadership, it must have involved the country in a bloody civil war, which in its exhausted and impoverished condition so soon after the long Revolutionary struggle, would have had an ending which might easily have been most disastrous. The older and more settled part of the country was east of the Appalachian mountain system. There was the seat of government and the scene of most activities in commerce and manufacture. These counties about the headwaters of the Ohio were isolated from it. The lurking savage had practically undisputed possession of the great Ohio wilderness and to the westward of it for unknown distances. Great Britain maintained a firm foothold along the Canadian border on the north and northwest, and Spain was in possession of the mouth of the Mississippi. These would have a natural interest in seeing the disintegration of the young nation which was giving promise of pushing its settlements westward rapidly.

Washington recognized the peril, and met it by organizing and putting in the field an army greater and much better equipped than the one he commanded at Yorktown when Cornwallis handed him his sword, and by the expenditure of nearly a million dollars—a vast sum for that time and for the country in the state of its finances then. This action was not due to any sudden panic on the part of the great general and president, who for three years had been earnestly and patiently trying to compose the differences without resort to force, but came from his appreciation, with all the facts before him, that it was a grave crisis, requiring heroic treatment. No one who looks carefully at all the facts can well escape the conviction that the ship of state was among the breakers which had well nigh wrecked it.

DEFIANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT.

This was the first serious revolt against the power and

authority of the federal government. The rebellion in Massachusetts, led by Captain Shays, a few years before, of the common people against the assumed domination of a landed aristocracy, never got completely beyond the power of the state authorities to handle, and federal interference was not invoked.

The Whisky Insurrection was a bold defiance of and direct assault upon the federal government. This we must all allow, even though we give all weight to the grievances, real or apparent, of the people of the region at that time. Its crushing out gave great prestige to the young republic and its power for self-government, showing that it was able to deal with serious internal dissensions. The civilized world beheld and took notice, and its respect for the experiment in self-government then being worked out was immeasurably increased. It also gave added impulse to the spirit of federalism among our own people. In the debates of the constitutional convention, then in the recent past, there was a well defined cleavage between those who favored a strong central government and those who stood for the largest measure of sovereignty on the part of the several states, bound together in a loose confederacy for common protection and advantage. Even then the seeds were sprouting from which grew the plant bearing the vexed questions of state versus federal sovereignty—only rooted out, in a later generation, after an effusion of rivers of blood and the expending of almost fabulous treasure.

Within the limits of a paper such as this, it is out of the question to go into a detailed history of the struggle to which it refers, nor can there be an exhaustive study of the causes leading up to it. But a look at these causes is necessary to an understanding even of the Insurrection in a general view. This will be attempted, along with the direction of attention to some things which have particularly impressed the author of these lines in his study of the subject.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The student in search of the truth at once finds himself in difficulties in the earliest bibliography of the Insurrection. The first book written concerning it was by Hugh H. Brackenridge afterwards a Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsyl-

vania. His "Incidents of the Western Insurrection" was published in Philadelphia a year after the culmination of the trouble, and its principal object was to explain and justify some actions of his in connection with it, which at the time looked like acquiescence if not participation in acts for which the insurgents were called to account. While it set forth a strong claim for his fealty to the government, it was written, as might naturally be expected, in view of the time and place, so as to give the least offense to those who had been openly aligned with the opposition to the collection of the excise, and with the largest measure of excuse for their stand and action, consistent with the contention he was making for himself. The author was an attorney, dependant on the people of the West for support, and was actively in politics in this region. A careful view of the whole situation seems to warrant the belief that Judge Braekenridge deported himself with rare tact in a most trying situation, and performed valuable service in averting worse disaster than came upon the region. But he was not in the best situation immediately afterwards to write unbiassed history.

William Findley wrote his history of the Insurrection and published it the year after the appearance of Braekenridge's. It, too, has for its object the clearing of the writer's skirts from the strong imputation that he aided and abetted resistance to the enforcement of the excise law. It shows some ability, but lacks the literary finish of the earlier work, and was written with evident bias in favor of the western people in their contention. Findley was a politician, was bitterly opposed to the policies of the then existing administration, and at that time had special interest in holding the favor of the western people. These two books were for years the accepted histories of the event, and much that has since been written on the subject has been colored more or less by them.

A feud existed between the Braekenridge and Neville families at the time of the Insurrection, and it was perpetuated in succeeding generations, with the result of adding to the literature on the subject in hand. Neville B. Craig was a grandson of Gen. John Neville, Inspector of Excise in the Fourth Survey of Pennsylvania, which comprised the counties of Alle-

gheny, Washington, Fayette, Westmoreland, and the portion of Bedford lying west of the Allegheny mountain ridge. This last comprised almost the present Somerset county, and Washington county at that time included the present Greene county. Mr. Craig was a local historian of note, and near the middle of the last century published a history of Pittsburg. In this he gave an account in some detail of the Whisky Insurrection, and was particularly severe in his denunciation and characterization of H. H. Brackenridge, then long dead. This brought forth a protest from Judge H. M. Brackenridge, a son of the dead jurist, and a newspaper controversy of much bitterness raged for some time. The final result was that the younger Brackenridge published a book under the title of "History of the Western Insurrection," which included most of what had been in his father's earlier work, and much in addition, its chief object being to defend his memory. Craig came back with a book in answer. Both of these are written in considerable bitterness, which detracts to some extent from their value as history.

The Pennsylvania State Archives devote one entire volume to this subject. It is very complete in its preservation of the court records, military orders and other papers pertaining to the matter, but in its narrative portions the influence of the earliest published accounts are plainly evident, and it is a labored effort to marshal all that could be brought forward in palliating the course of those who opposed the excise. Rev. Dr. James Carnahan, a native of Washington county, and at the time of the Insurrection a student in Jefferson College at Canonsburg, who became president of Princeton University, made an address before the New Jersey Historical Society, based largely on his own recollections of the Insurrection, which was published and is a valuable contribution to its literature. Creigh's and Crumrine's histories of Washington county have good accounts of it and supply many interesting facts, the latter in particular being full and illuminative. Histories of the other counties also touch on it, and a number of other contributions to the history of the event have been made. One, a paper prepared by Alexander Hamilton, is the earliest and fullest account from the Federalist side. Naturally it makes out the strongest case possible for the administration, and magnifies

some features of opposition which do not seem important at this distance. Two romances have been written with the Insurrection as the chief motive.

Recently the Carnegie Library at Pittsburg has been engaged, with good results, in the collection, so far as possible, of everything obtainable that has been written on this subject, and the books are properly classified, indexed and accessible in the reference department of that magnificent institution. The library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society at Philadelphia also has a fine collection of books, pamphlets and manuscripts on this subject, the result of many years of effort. So much for the bibliography of the Whisky Insurrection.

POLITICS HAD ITS PART.

Politics of the day entered more largely into it than generally appears to the casual reader. Washington, though chosen to the presidency without opposition, was cast in a mould which naturally inclined him to favor a strong central government. His military training and discipline served to accentuate this bent in him, and it is not surprising to find him gathering about him in his official family of advisers a number of those who were like minded. Of these, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, was a leading spirit, and his theories had much to do in shaping the policies of Washington's administration, especially along financial lines. Pennsylvania at that time was controlled by the Republican or Anti-Federal party, the predecessor of the present Democratic party, and was thus, to some extent, at variance with the administration. Especially in the portions west of the mountains was the Anti-Federalist sentiment strong, and William Findley, of Westmoreland county, the candidate of that party, previously mentioned as an author, was one of the representatives of this section elected to the lower house of the Second Congress.

In tracing the causes of this remarkable uprising, if one would arrive at the whole truth, various contributary influences must be considered, some of them racial and hereditary, others due to local conditions and circumstances. Before going into these underlying causes, it were well to take a view of the immediate occasion of the opposition to the government.

GENERAL CONDITIONS.

The end of the war for independence found the young nation staggering under a great load of debt and hosts of its people impoverished. The country's credit had been strained to the breaking point, and its experiment of self-government was looked upon as very doubtful in its outcome by the people of most of the nations of earth. Its credit being practically gone, its ability to raise money by promises to pay, in the issuing of script currency, was exhausted. The government script issued during the war was then so greatly depreciated that it was practically worthless. Some means had to be devised for raising money to meet the indebtedness of the country and to carry on its government.

Mr. Hamilton's proposition was to levy duties on imports and an excise on certain productions of the country, prominent among which he placed distilled spirits. The latter part of the plan met with strong opposition, but it prevailed, and Congress, in March, 1791, passed the act which would put his plan in operation. While the matter was under consideration the Pennsylvania Legislature passed, by a vote of more than three to one, a resolution in opposition to the proposed action of Congress, and instructing the representatives of the state to vote against the measure. The act was so drawn that it placed a specific tax on each still, according to its capacity, and on its product, payable in specie or its equivalent.

Many of the residents of the western country were of Scotch-Irish birth or extraction, and they brought with them from across the sea a deep-seated prejudice against excise laws, those who enacted them and the agents in their enforcement. But they were not alone in this antipathy to the excise, nor would it seem, as will be pointed out later, that they were the all-controlling force that it has been the custom to regard them in most accounts of the Insurrection that have been written. Such laws had always been unpopular among the small farmers of all parts of Great Britain, and indeed of other European countries as well. Collection of such taxes in the old country had often been attended with cruel exactions and indignities, and with violations of the sacredness of the domicile. As one

writer puts it: "Taxation had in Europe come to be an absolute spoliation of all who had no voice in the affairs of the state."

Excise laws had always been unpopular in Pennsylvania, and had never been successfully enforced in the counties west of the mountains. While this was the first such measure inaugurated by the national government, there had been enactments of this character both under the provincial and the state governments before. These were all short-lived, soon either being repealed or becoming non-effective. There was at the time of the passage by Congress of Hamilton's act a Pennsylvania state excise law, but it was practically a dead letter. Efforts to enforce it in the western country a few years before had resulted in the heaping of indignities on the collector, so that he finally had to flee from the region in fear for his life. In the agitation over the national law the state act was repealed.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE.

The French Revolution, which broke out soon after the beginning of Washington's first administration, made a profound impression on thought in America, and this was reflected in the politics of the time. While its excesses shocked the majority, there were many, still wrought up over the reaction from the monarchical oppressions enforced on the attention of the world by the American Revolution, then in the recent past, who were ready to lend a willing ear to even the most radical and violent departure from the long existing forms of old-world government. That this influence was dominant in the outbreaks and excesses under consideration must become apparent to one who closely studies the whole system. The Anti-Federalists, restive under any restraints by the national government, especially when directed against an opposing state policy, claimed that the Rights of Man, as enunciated by the revolutionists across the water, were violated by the enactment and enforcement of an excise law repugnant to the people of Pennsylvania. Later, when Citizen Genet came as the minister of the French republic to the United States, with the announcement of a declaration of war by France against Great Britain, and demanding that our government become the ally of France, the Anti-Federalists seized the occasion to rally about him and applaud

the sentiment. They then began to eall themselves Demoeratic Republieans, while some took the name of Demoerats. Seeret societies were organized to promulgate their doetrine, and these, or organizations patterned largely after them, played an important part in the Insurreetion, as will be seen later.

Genet, mistaking these elamors for the sentiment of the Ameriean people generally, went further, and took steps for organizing enterprises whieh would speedily have embroiled the United States in war with Great Britain. This greatly embarrassed Washington and his eabinet, and they issued a proelamation of neutrality in the eonfliet between Franee and Great Britain and warning Ameriean eitizens not to do anything ineonsistent with this neutrality. At the request of Washington, Genet was reealled, but seeds were sown whieh bore their eertain fruit. While it would be unfair to say that the exeesses of the Whisky Insurreetion were due solely to the dissemination of these doetrines at this time, it is impossible to escape the eonvietion that it was a very important eontributing eause.

CHARACTER OF INHABITANTS.

In looking for the oeeasions of this outbreak, it will not do to omit some study of the general eharaeter of the people engaged in it. Even at that early day, ehurehes of various Protestant denominations had been planted in the western eountry and were well supported. But it must not be supposed that all of the people were good and law-abiding. Court reeords of the time show that the erimes and misdemeanors whieh make up so deplorably large a part of the life of to-day were fully as prevalent then, and it is in evidenee and well supported in various ways, that a very rough elass of people had large representation here at that time. The elose of the Revolution left many adventurers, who gravitated to the western frontier as offering the best opportunities for the free and easy life whieh appealed to them. The years of border warfare with its atroeities had hardened the people generally, so that seenes of violenee did not shoek them as they would those who have lived long amid a peaeeful and orderly sequenee of events.

This has illustration in the historieal faet that from the region whieh beeame the ehief eenter of the Whisky Insurrec-

tion went forth, only a few years before, the company of men who butchered in cold blood the helpless men, women and children of the Christianized Indians in the three villages of the Moravian mission settlements in Ohio. And after that David Williamson, the leader of the expedition, was triumphantly elected sheriff of Washington county, showing his popularity among the people. He was a colonel of militia during the Insurrection, and one of the orders issued to him by David Bradford when he was in the saddle as leader has been preserved.

EARLIER SECESSION SENTIMENT.

It is only fair to say, also, that the government of and by the people was young and untried, and that reverence for it, which has come to be a part of the education of every well raised youth in our time, was lacking. Indeed, as indicated a little earlier, there was with the majority in this region, a measure of hostility to the government, as represented by the party in control of its administration, and dating back to the debates preceding the adoption of the constitution. And even before that there had been manifest a sentiment which showed that the people of the region regarded the tie connecting them with the general government as something which might easily be broken. Until the close of the Revolution, Virginia claimed, and actually exercised, authority over this part of Pennsylvania, and many of the people of the region gave allegiance to the Old Dominion, resenting the arrangement by which it was recognized as a part of Pennsylvania. Threats of withdrawing and forming an independent state were then heard, and these were repeated at intervals afterwards. The Irvine-Washington correspondence contains a letter written in 1782 from the then commandant at Fort Pitt to General Washington, in which great anxiety is expressed concerning the prevalence of a sentiment in favor of secession among the people of this section, and the next year the Supreme Executive Council deemed it of sufficient moment to justify sending an emissary to them whose mission, in the language of his instructions, was "to bring those deluded citizens of the western counties to a proper sense of their duty."

During the Revolution the western people had their grievances. Scourged along the whole border by the horrible savage

warfare, instigated and urged on by the British, they not only were left to fight their own battles against great odds, but had to contribute largely to the fighting forces for the main theater of action in the East. The remembrance of this rankled.

The excise law was enacted, as has been said, in the spring of 1791, and the government at once began to take steps for its execution. It met with opposition in various sections of the country, but there was no special difficulty encountered in its enforcement anywhere except in the regions west of the mountains. The act provided for the machinery necessary for its operation, and soon this was set going, collectors gathering in the excise in the various localities and making reports to officials having jurisdiction in larger territories. The Fourth Survey in Pennsylvania, which comprised the counties in its southwestern corner, then had a population estimated at seventy thousand. It was here that the government met stubborn opposition in its efforts to enforce the new law.

Isolated as it was from the rest of the country, and connected only by the most primitive highways, there could be little commerce with the country at large. The rich region raised grain greatly in excess of the needs of its inhabitants, but it cost more to transport a barrel of flour over the mountains than it would sell for in the markets of the East. So it was with the fruits of the region. But when these were distilled into spirits, they could be transported more readily, and be sold at a profit. A horse could pack but four bushels of grain, but could easily transport the product of twenty-four bushels in the form of distilled liquor. Laborious as it was, a considerable traffic had thus grown up, the inhabitants of the region making the long pilgrimages to the eastern settlements and there trading their products for the necessary things which their region did not at that time produce.

It has already been mentioned that the government script was at that time practically worthless, and there was very little specie in the country. Spirits thus became in a large measure the medium of exchange, and were traded for about anything one desired to acquire. It should be noted also that the use of whisky as a beverage was almost universal. In the rigorous climate and strenuous outdoor life of the people, it was thought to

be necessary as a medicine, and among the Scotch and Irish it had been the national beverage for generations. The etiquette of the time requird that the bottle and glass be set out whenever visitors came into the house, and all classes, even many of the ministers of the Gospel, drank without prejudice.

Being in such general use, both as a beverage and as currency, it was produced by nearly every tiller of the soil. A few neighbors would go together in the conduct of a distillery, and it is estimated that there was, in many sections of this region, at least one distillery for every six farms. The tax on both the still and its product caught all, whether they followed the business of distilling or had their grain distilled by others.

EXCISE LAW OPPOSED.

Active opposition to the operation of the law manifested itself as soon as the attempt was made to put it in force. Leading men of the region gathered in meetings and protested against it, and many of the farmers whom it affected directly met the efforts to enforce the law with violence towards the officers charged with that duty. Some of the speeches made and the resolutions adopted in the gatherings were highly intemperate in their tone and bitter in their denunciation of the government. It was contended that the distilling of the western country was primarily domestic, and should not be classed as a product for general taxation; also that it was an unjust discrimination, because to lay spirits down in the communities east of the mountains, the only outside market open to the western people, the cost to the producer was just double what it cost a distiller in the East to make and put his product on the market, but the tax was the same in both cases. The feeling was especially bitter towards any who would accept commissions under the government in the enforcement of the excise law, and meetings held both at Washington and at Pittsburg, participated in by many of the principal men of the region, subscribed to resolutions which declared:

"That, whereas, some men may be found among us, so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distresses of their country, as to accept the office of collector of the duty,

"Resolved, therefore, that in the future we will consider such per-

sons as unworthy of our friendship, have no intercourse or dealings with them, withdraw from them every assistance, withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow citizens we owe to each other, and upon all occasions treat them with that contempt they deserve; and that it be, and it is hereby most earnestly recommended to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them."

Here was the essential spirit of the boycott, long before the word had been invented and one hundred sixteen years before the Supreme Court of the nation had declared it in violation of the Constitution.

These and like resolutions were adopted by men who were recognized leaders of their time, including some county officials, attorneys, ex-officers of the patriot army and even ministers of the Gospel. At most of the meetings of the kind, including one which adopted the foregoing extract. Col. Edward Cook, of Fayette county, one of the foremost men of the time in the western country, presided, and the name of Albert Gallatin, as secretary, attests the passage of the resolutions. The example of these and other prominent men bore its certain fruit in the violence which followed. Some of them later saw the folly of their heated expressions, and sought to stem the tide of insurrection, but others of them were carried along with it.

Popular opposition to the excise, when efforts were made to collect it, took the form of violence towards the collectors. The official for Washington and Allegheny counties was caught by a number of men in an obscure place on Pigeon creek, and they cut his hair off, tarred and feathered him and sent him home afoot. Another man was tarred and feathered for speaking in favor of the law, and one in whose house the office of the excise collector had been established was threatened with the destruction of his property if he did not cause the office to be removed. He at once gave public notice that the office would no longer be permitted to be there. Under a threat of having his house burned, the collector for Fayette county resigned his commission, and after the collector for Westmoreland county had repulsed more than one attack on his house, it was finally destroyed.

There were those who were desirous of obeying the law, but as soon as they made return of their stills and it became

known that they were disposed to comply with the law, the batteries of the opposing forces were turned on them. They were denounced as traitors and held up to open scorn. They received notice, by anonymous communications either left at their doorsteps or tacked on their buildings, threatening destruction of their property if they did not join in the opposition to the law. In a number of cases these threats were carried out, and barns, distilleries, mills and other buildings were burned in the night. And frequently the victims of these outrages were compelled, under threat of further injury, to publish accounts of the occurrences as warnings to others that they might expect the same treatment unless they joined the opposition to the operation of the law.

SECRET ORCANIZATIONS.

It was when the excitement occasioned by these things was at its height that the secret organizations began to be formed, in connection with the movement before noted, growing out of the agitation by the French emissary. The idea took greatly in this western country, and many such organizations were formed under the name of Democratic Societies. These societies were patterned somewhat after the Jacobin clubs of France. At that time practically all men capable of bearing arms were enrolled in the militia. The drill times and muster days were great occasions for the assembling of men, and they were taken advantage of now for the propagation of these societies. Soon nearly every headquarters point for a regiment or battalion had its flourishing society, and there were others besides. These, while perhaps not organized primarily to combat the excise, undoubtedly had a powerful influence in that direction.

There is evidence that there were inner circles and hidden conclaves of even greater mystery than the societies referred to. Their existence could only be known by their doings, which usually were under cover of night. They seem to have planned the demonstrations against those who gave offense against the popular cause and to have issued the warnings when these were given. All this brought about a veritable reign of terror. No man could know just how far to trust his neighbors, nor whether they might not be spying upon him.

It was at this time that "Tom the Tinker" appeared on the scene. The name was signed to warnings issued to complying distillers and others who incurred the enmity of the opposition. This was one of the most unique features of the whole movement. If there was one who was first known by that name, it soon, apparently, passed the stage of being a particular designation for an individual and became that which stood for the cause of the opposers of the excise. At their rallies the cry was "Hurrah for Tom the Tinker!" and they took pride in being known as "Tom the Tinker's men." A distiller who had the hardihood to go counter to the prevailing sentiment and entered his still for taxation, found a notice posted up in the night at his door, warning him that unless he aligned himself with the opposers of the excise, "Tom the Tinker" would pay him a visit and mend his still! The distiller stood firm in what he considered to be his duty as a loyal citizen, and a few nights later his still was riddled with bullets from the rifles of those doubtless who had given the warning. The rude joke caught the fancy of the masses, and "Tom the Tinker" was in high favor from that time.

The Pittsburg Gazette, then a crudely printed little folio sheet, issued weekly, was the only newspaper at that time printed west of the mountains. Its proprietor and editor, John Scull, seems to have remained loyal to the government at heart through all the troubled time, but the pressure brought on him for the making of his paper Tom's official organ was stronger than he could successfully resist and keep his enterprise going. Some of the warnings to those who were in disfavor with the opposers of the excise were sent to the paper for publication, coupled with the notice that if they failed to appear Tom would pay his respects to the office of publication in person, and they appeared with due regularity. Men who were converted to Tom's way of thinking by his strenuous methods were also made to publish in the paper the fact of their changed attitude, and to warn others. Truly this pioneer publisher, along with others, had his trials and vexation of spirit.

NOT ALL DISLOYAL.

That there were many people in the region who were op-

posed to the course taken by those who combatted the excise and secretly were loyal to the government, there is little reason to doubt, but it took a deal of courage to stand out openly in opposition to what was the prevailing sentiment, under the conditions that have been described. A mere expression of opinion in support of the government was often visited with punishment, and where one, especially a person engaged in distilling, was known to show any tendency towards complying with the law, he was almost certain to feel the weight of the hidden hand. It soon came to be that the ordinary machinery of justice was entirely powerless to punish any offense against the law, if committed in these demonstrations against the excise. Many of the magistrates were openly with the opposition, and any who might have felt disposed to enforce the law were powerless to act because they could not secure the service of papers on those who were offenders.

Thus matters continued for about three years after the passage of the act. At the succeeding session of Congress it was modified considerably, its provisions not being so onerous, in the hope that the western people might be placated and the troubles be composed without resort to force on the part of the government. But the only effect produced by this apparently was to intensify the people in their opposition, they interpreting this as a weakening on the part of the administration. Then Washington issued a proclamation in which he declared that the excise law would be impartially enforced, and all persons were warned not to interfere with its operation. Gen. John Neville was appointed Inspector of Excise in the Fourth Survey. It was a long time before he could get collectors in the field and offices opened, but he was a man of great determination and of undoubted bravery. It was well in the year 1794 when he finally felt that he could force the issue, and it was then realized that a crisis had come.

The opposition became more intense and feeling ran high. Great gatherings were held at various places and impassioned speeches were made in opposition to the excise law and its enforcement. In many places "liberty poles", so-called, were raised. These were tall masts which carried streamers on which were inscribed sentiments of opposition to and defiance

of the law. On the occasions of these pole raisings, a favorite form of diversion for the crowds gathered was to catch men suspected of disloyalty to the cause and command them to cheer for the sentiments thus emblazoned. Orators declared their cause to be similar to that of the colonists before independence, in being unjustly taxed and in being carried away from their homes for trial when charged with violation of the law. The latter was one of the great grievances of the people who opposed the excise. There was, up to this time, no sitting of the federal court west of the mountains, and those of the western country who were haled into court to answer a charge of violating federal statutes had to cross the mountains, to York or Philadelphia. A remedy was provided in this particular also, by the action of Congress, but the main outbreak of the Insurrection came just when preparations were being made to establish the court in the western country.

THE SPARK TO THE TINDER.

Given all the conditions that have been described, it was hardly to be expected otherwise than that a serious clash should occur, and its occasion was soon supplied. Proceedings were instituted against a number of distillers who had refused to have their stills registered for taxation, and in the early part of July Major Lenox, United States Marshal, arrived in the western country with writs for some forty such offenders, commanding them to appear in court and answer to the charges against them. These proceedings having been begun in the East, were returnable there. It was while serving these papers (and the last of them, as it happened) that the Marshal was accompanied by Gen. Neville, the Inspector, to the home of a farmer, living in the Peters creek valley, near the line separating Allegheny and Washington counties. A number of men were helping to gather in the harvest, and, according to the custom of the time, the whisky bottle had been passed among them more than once. When the two officials were moving away, after the paper had been read, an attack was made on them and a shot was fired at them.

GENERAL NEVILLE'S HOUSE ATTACKED.

The same day a regimental meeting was being held at Min-

go Presbyterian church, and the word of these occurrences was carried there just when the gathering was breaking up. It caused intense excitement, and the same night a party was made up, numbering 35 to 40 men, under the leadership of John Holleroft, which proceeded, armed, to the residence of Gen. Neville, in the Chartiers valley, arriving there at about daybreak the next morning. There was a short parley, in which the Inspector's commission was demanded and refused, and an exchange of shots between the assaulting party and the members of the Inspector's household and servants. This resulted in the repulse of Holleroft and his followers, with six of the latter wounded, at least one of them mortally.

The word of this encounter spread rapidly, and caused the wildest excitement. The word went forth for a gathering of the forces opposed to the excise on the following day. Many gathered at Mingo church, but the principal place of rendezvous was Couch's Fort, an old block-house of the days of Indian warfare, on the Pittsburg and Brownsville road. Men came from various parts of Allegheny and Washington counties, until a force estimated at from five to six hundred had assembled. A majority of these were members of the battalion of militia which had its headquarters at Mingo church, and Benjamin Parkinson, president of the Democratic society which met there, was of the number. The commander of the Mingo regiment, Col. John Hamilton, was not present, and the force elected Major James McFarlane to the command for the day, though the record is that he accepted it reluctantly.

Gen. Neville had heard of the preparations for advancing again on his house, and at his solicitation a file of eleven United States soldiers from the garrison at Pittsburg was sent to his house early in the day. The request was preferred through Major Abraham Kirkpatrick of Pittsburg, a brother-in-law of Gen. Neville, who also had been an officer in the Revolution. He accompanied the soldiers to the Neville country house, which was about seven miles southwest of Pittsburg, and was really in command there through the exciting events of the day. On his advice, Gen. Neville withdrew from the house and went to Pittsburg.

It was late in the day when the force that came against it

arrived at the house. Military regulations seem to have been observed. Pickets were posted around the place and it was approached under cover of the woods. A demand was made on the occupants of the house for the surrender of Gen. Neville. A reply was made that he was not in the house. Then a demand was made that a committee be permitted to search the house for him or his commission and other papers bearing on his office of Inspector of Excise. This was refused. It was then announced that an attack would be made on the house, but first safe conduct would be given the women and children to a place of refuge. This was accepted and was accomplished by their removal to the house of Col. Pressly Neville, son of the Inspector, a short distance away.

Gen. Neville resided for most of the year in Pittsburg, and this was his country home. It was at that time the finest place west of the Monongahela river. The mansion was a commodious one and luxurious for that time, and was surrounded by barns and other out-buildings and quarters for the negroes, for the General was the owner of a goodly number of slaves. He called the place Bower Hill, and it was between the present Bower Hill and Woodville stations of the Chartiers Valley railroad, nearer to the former, and the mansion was set back on the bluff to the right in descending the creek, and commanding a fine view of the adjacent country. It was afterwards ascertained that frequent threats of an attack on his house had been carried to him, and he had prepared for it by arming and training the members of his household, including his servants, and by fitting stout wooden shutters on the windows of the house.

DESTRUCTION OF INSPECTOR'S PROPERTY.

In the attack which followed there was spirited firing from both sides, and early in it Major McFarlane, who commanded the assailing party, was shot and expired almost instantly. This increased the fury of his followers, by whom he was greatly beloved, and they continued the attack on the house with increased energy, while firebrands were applied to the outbuildings. These were soon in flames and the fire communicated to the dwellings. This resulted in the surrender of those within it. Some of these, and others of Gen. Neville's family and friends

who arrived on the scene from Pittsburg, were in great peril, especially when the liquors found in the cellar of the burning house were brought out and freely partaken of by the mob, as it had now become. The house was entirely destroyed, with all its valuable contents. It was after night when the house was burned, and the prisoners were aided in escaping from their captors, who swore they would hang them, by some who seem to have had an appreciation of the gravity of the situation and to have remained sober in the general saturnalia.

It is worthy of note here that many of the officers of the militia claimed afterwards that their principal object in being present on this and other occasions was to try to prevent excesses on the part of the men, and other facts seem to bear this out as to some of them, at least. The elder Brackenridge gives it as his opinion that some prominent men whom he names went to various places, on a general call for assembling, "at the solicitation and under fear of the people." Some who went thus, when they found themselves involved, seem to have thrown aside all scruples and became leading spirits in the insurrectionary movement. This is true of David Bradford, who, except in his participation in some of the early meetings to protest against the enforcement of the excise law in the western country, was not heard of in the exciting occurrences of the time until after the destruction of the Neville house. Shortly after that occurrence Gen. Neville and Maj. Lenox took their departure quietly from Pittsburg by a flatboat down the Ohio river to Marietta, and from there made their way through the wilderness of western Virginia, over the mountains and to the East.

Events of moment followed each other rapidly from this time on in the summer of 1794, the destruction of the Inspector's house having been on the 17th of July in that year, but these can only be briefly sketched here. A largely attended meeting was held at Mingo Presbyterian church about a week later, called by those who had been prominent in the expedition to Neville's. This place was central in the district which took the lead in the affairs of the time, and may justly be regarded as the main center of the Insurrection. An effort was made at this meeting to gain support for those who had been at Neville's and to make an open declaration of defiance of the government,

thus involving the western country generally with those whose act, it was feared, would be construed as rebellion. Principally through the address of Mr. Brackenridge, any formal declaration was deferred, he arguing that the meeting was not a representative one of the whole people of the western country, and his suggstion that such a one be called was adopted, August 14 being designated as the time and Parkinson's Ferry (now Monongahela City) the place.

DAVID BRADFORD'S APPEARANCE.

David Bradford attended the Mingo church meeting and spoke warmly for continued resistance to the government. From this time he took a prominent part with the insurgents, and soon came to be recognized as their leader. He was a ready talker and had some of the elements of a leader of men, but though bold in planning great enterprises, was sadly lacking in some of the qualities necessary for carrying them out. For a time when the frenzy was at its height he was the idol of his followers, and had he been cast in a different mould, could have made the Whisky Insurrection a much more formidable thing than it was to the nation. But he was weak and vacillating when crises came, afraid of doing something which might impair his popularity, and no match in mentality and adroitness for those who were pitted against him. James Marshall also cast his lot actively with the Insurrection at the Mingo meeting. He was a man of high standing, but seems to have been dominated by Bradford.

From this time on Bradford's object was to involve the western country with those who felt that they were likely to be called to account for the excesses in connection with the demonstrations against the Inspector. It was hoped that with the whole large population involved, the government would be deterred from the execution of extreme measures against individuals.

Largely through Bradford's instrumentality, an effort was made to rob the mail from Washington to Pittsburg, but this failed, and then two men lay in wait and held up the carrier of the mail from Pittsburg to the East, when he was approaching Greensburg. The sack was rifled, a number of letters being

taken from it and opened. The avowed object of this was to learn, if possible, what reports were being sent to the East concerning the recent doings of the opposers of the excise. Half a dozen letters were found, from men of prominence in Pittsburg to government officials and others, in referenee to the matter. These were taken by Bradford and a few others in his confidence to an upper room in a tavern in Canonsburg, and opened. Some of them contained that which gave great offense to Bradford. At once an address was sent by the junto to commanders of the militia in the western counties, calling for as large a force as they could raise, at Braddoek's Field, the usual place of general rendezvous for the militia.

It was direeted that the men should assemble, supplied with arms and ammunition and with four days' rations. A part of the plan, as set forth by Bradford, who originated it, though not mentioned in this general circular of instructions, was that the army thus gathered should march on Pittsburg, overcome the garrison of Fort Fayette, sieze the arms, ammunition and other munitions of war stored there, and thus equip an army to meet any force that the government might send against them. Bradford also busied himself in writing to various persons in Virginia, urging attendanee on the coming meeting at Parkinson's Ferry. The tone of some of his letters which have been preserved shows that he was trying all the time to make sentiment in opposition to the government and to have the representative gathering declare for continued resistance.

THE BRADDOCK'S FIELD ASSEMBLAGE.

The assemblage which gathered at Braddock's Field numbered about seven thousand men, most of them under arms. That many of them went with mixed motives there is little doubt. Some went through fear of the consequences of refusing; some, espeeially of the officers, went in the hope of being able to deter the more hot-headed ones from violence; some went there doubtless through the curiosity which attends any such demonstration. But the majority, with little doubt, were there because they hated the excise law and wanted some opportunity of striking a blow at it and the govern-

ment which was seeking to enforce it. They were ready for any desperate enterprise, and only wanted a determined and courageous leadership to engage in whatever presented itself of that character. Bradford was then at the zenith of his popularity as a leader, but his weakness was strikingly shown there.

The feeling against Pittsburg was particularly bitter, because many of the leading people there had expressed themselves against the outbreak of those in opposition to the government, and the proposition to move against the little town (for its population at the time was little more than a thousand) met with great favor. The inhabitants of the place were thoroughly scared. They made a semblance of banishing from the place some who had incurred the displeasure of the insurgents, adopted resolutions of sympathy for their cause and sent a large delegation of leading citizens and militia out to the rendezvous to mingle with the throng and attempt to placate their wrath.

The determination of just what should be done was submitted to a committee, and on the representation that the stores in the fort were for use in an expedition then in the field against the hostile Indians, an agreement was reached to abandon the attack on it. Its protection was a mere stockade and its garrison was slender, so it could easily have been carried by the thousands of determined riflemen, even if it had made any resistance, which is doubtful. By the afternoon of the second day in camp, when Bradford was induced to yield one point after another, many of the men from a distance became disgusted and left for their homes. But many yet remained and insisted on being led to Pittsburg, and seeing that it was impossible to deter them, the march began, about four thousand men being in line, with banners flying and their cries rending the air.

Those who engaged in the march were chiefly from Washington county and the portion of Allegheny county lying contiguous to it, on the west side of the Monongahela river. Arrived in the town, the army drew up on the "common" between the site of the present court house and Market street, and were there regaled with whisky, water and food by the inhabitants, many of whom were wrought up to a high pitch

of nervousness. In the evening most of them crossed the river and proceeded to their homes, though a number remained, with the expressed determination of destroying the property of those who had incurred their enmity, and were with great difficulty prevented from burning a number of houses in the town. The barn of Major Kirkpatriek on the south side hill, overlooking the town, was given to the flames that night.

Though the ending of the Braddoek's Field demonstration was tame, after its brave beginning, nothing else to that time operated so in intensifying the opposition to the government. There was apparent aequieseenee on the part of leading men of Pittsburg and all the regions round about in the movement against the exeise, in their dissimulation for the saving of Pittsburg; and the disaffection spread like wildfire. There were many acts of disorder and destruetion of property between that time and the assembling of the delegate meeting at Parkinson's Ferry on the 14th of August.

THE PARKINSON'S FERRY MEETING.

That oeeasion brought together a great number. Delegates were ehosen by townships, and two hundred sixteen of these were present, eoming from the eounties of Washington, Allegheny, Westmoreland, Fayette and Bedford in Pennsylvania and Ohio eounty in Virginia. There was a mueh larger number of spectators. The meeting was held in the open air, on the hill portion of what is now the eity of Monongahela. The delegates for the most part were prineipal men of their several neighborhoods, and some of the foremost men of the time in the western eountry took part in the deliberations.

Albert Gallatin was there, appearing again in the movement in whieh he had been prominent in its earlier stages, but now as an advocate of submission to the law. In this he was ably aided by Hugh H. Braekenridge, but they had to be most eireumspeet in their utteranees and proeedure, feigning opposition to each other in some of the things proposed. Col. Cook was made president of the meeting and Gallatin its seeretary. Bradford and Marshall took the lead for the more radieal of the insurgents, the former especially deelaring boldly for war and no eompromise. The first set of resolutions proposed re-

sistance to the excise laws and to the taking of citizens away from the vicinity for trial in cases growing out of the attempted enforcement of the law. They were discussed at some length, amid scenes which made the position of anyone attempting to overcome them a most difficult one. The meeting was surrounded by a large crowd whose sympathies were entirely with the opposition to the government. A tall pole, erected that morning by some of these, bore a streamer with the inscription: "Equal Taxation and No Excise; No Asylum for Traitors and Cowards."

Gallatin and his associates finally succeeded in having the resolutions referred to a committee of which they became members. Col. Cook by this time was evidently sick of the whole business, and had come to have a proper appreciation of its gravity. His influence had been for peace at the Braddock's Field meeting, and the committee of his appointment on this occasion was evidently one chosen with a view to curbing the defiant spirit of the meeting's official utterances, so far as possible. The radical element had to be recognized by appointing Bradford and some of his kind on the committee also, but he was no match for the adroit Brackenridge and the astute Gallatin, and the resolutions reported back to the general meeting the following day were very tame in comparison with the fiery ones at first proposed.

WASHINGTON ACTS.

It is doubtful if the labors of those who were seeking to avoid a serious clash with the government would have met with the measure of success they did, had not events unexpectedly shaped themselves in their favor on the second and last day of the gathering. Word of the recent doings in the western country had been carried over the mountains, and President Washington decided that the time had finally come for vigorous action. With him to decide was to act. Seven days before the date of the Parkinson's Ferry meeting he issued a proclamation which recited the facts of formations in the western country to defeat the execution of the excise law, and the perpetration of acts which he defined as treason, being, in the language of the proclamation, "overt acts of levying war against the

United States." He commanded all insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their homes before the first of September following, and warned all persons against aiding, abetting or comforting the perpetrators of these treasonable acts. At the same time he issued a call for 12,950 troops, to be raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and New Jersey, to be held in readiness for immediate service, if desired.

But, that one more opportunity might be given the insurgents to submit to federal authority, he appointed a commission to visit the scene of disturbance at once and try to bring about submission to the law without sending the soldiers. The Governor of Pennsylvania appointed a like commission, and the two came together. Word of these proceedings came to the western country for the first time on the second day of the Parkinson's Ferry meeting, and at the same time it was announced that the commissioners, on their way to Pittsburg, had then reached a point within a few miles of the place where the meeting was being held, one of them (James Ross, then of Washington, Pa., later of Pittsburg, United States Senator from Pennsylvania) attending the meeting.

This intelligence, coming at the psychological moment, had a sobering effect on many of the delegates. The amended resolutions reported by the committee were adopted with but little opposition, though Bradford assailed such action violently. In an impassioned speech he called for preparation to be made to repel the "invasion," declaring that the western people were well able to hurl back in defeat any force that might be sent against them. He drew parallels between the case of the western people and that of the colonies in the Revolution, and demanded that an army be raised to fight for what he declared were their rights. The sentiment was applauded by the surrounding crowd and found some supporters among the delegates, but he failed to carry the day with a majority of them. Some who had secretly been opposed to any violence were now emboldened to take a stand for order and submission, and some who had been active in the cause of the insurgents became lukewarm.

The resolutions adopted denounced the taking of citizens away from the vicinity of their abode for trial; provided for a

standing committee of conference, to counsel the best course to pursue in the future; and another committee to meet the commissioners of the government. The latter could only receive the message of the commissioners and bear it to the standing committee. The meeting with the commissioners was appointed for the 20th of August, at Pittsburg, and of the standing committee to hear and act on their report, at Brownsville, on the 2d of September.

The result of the Parkinson's Ferry meeting did not bring an end of disorder. On the other hand, it seemed to act as an irritant and to stir up opposition afresh. The men who were determined to resist the operation of the excise law were the more set in their purpose. Tom the Tinker's warnings became more numerous, and whenever and wherever they were not heeded he struck with promptness and certainty. One of his screeds was posted up on the building in which the commissioners and the committee held their conference in Pittsburg, and was published in the paper there. It was insulting in its terms and held the New Jersey militia up to ridicule—something for which the soldiers from that state took vengeance later. Meetings were held in various sections of the region, at which fiery speeches were made and the people were advised not to submit to the government, but to resist to the bitter end, the speakers expressing their belief that his course would win. Bradford busied himself in sending out letters in which continued resistance was urged. He now declared for the creation of an independent state.

THE GOVERNMENT'S REQUIREMENTS.

When the meeting was held in Pittsburg each side made propositions for settlement, but the commissioners for the government made it plain and emphatic that they were not authorized to consider any terms except full and satisfactory assurance of a sincere determination on the part of the people to cease opposing the excise law and to be in submission and obedience to the authority of the government. The committee having asked of the commissioners a more explicit setting forth of just what was required, they presented the following to them in writing:

"1. It is expected, and required by the said commissioners, that the citizens composing the said general committee, do on or before the 1st day of September, explicitly declare their determination to submit to the laws of the United States, and they will not directly or indirectly oppose the acts for raising revenue on distilled spirits and stills.

"2. That they do explicitly recommend a perfect and entire acquiescence under the execution of said acts.

"3. That they do in like manner recommend that no violence, injuries or threats be offered to the person or property of any officer of the United States, or citizens complying with the laws, and to declare their determination to support (as far as the laws require) the civil authority in affording the protection due to all officers and citizens.

"4. That measures be taken by meetings in election district, or otherwise, the determination of the citizens of the fourth survey of Pennsylvania to submit to the said laws, and that satisfactory assurance be given to the said commissioners that the people have so decided to submit, on or before the 14th of September next."

If these conditions were met, the commissioners were authorized to promise, and did promise, general amnesty and pardon for past offenses. Bradford and a few other members of the committee opposed acceptance of this ultimatum, but a majority decided to report to the general committee in favor of accepting the terms, and the minority agreed to acquiesce in the report.

THE SECOND BROWNSVILLE MEETING.

At the Brownsville meeting the leaders in the Insurrection made their last stand. Like the Parkinson's Ferry meeting, it was held in the open air. Liberty poles with their declarations of defiance had been planted, and handbills were distributed in which it was charged that the commissioners had bribed members of the committee to report in favor of submission and amnesty, while threats of tar and feathers and the destruction of property were made against any who would favor submission. A large crowd, in open sympathy with these sentiments, had gathered, many of the men being armed. From a tall pole fluttered a flag which bore but seven instead of the usual thirteen stars, these being for the seven counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia which it was proposed should secede and form an independent state. Bradford, notwithstanding his promise to concur in the report of the majority of the committee, opposed it viciously when the time came.

Gallatin, Brackenridge and James Edgar spoke for submission, and pointed out the futility of meeting the government forces with armed resistance. Only the substance of what they said has been preserved, but for nearly a whole day they set forth with eloquence and earnestness the reasons why resistance to the government should be abandoned.

Bradford's speech on the occasion of this last rally of the opposition to the law was one of his most violent. He began by declaring himself "still for war," and averred that the western people could easily defeat the first army that should attempt to cross the mountains. In their defiles, he declared, one man could easily overcome four, and a whole army could be annihilated by rolling stones down on them. He boldly declared for a new state, with an independent government, and denounced the government of the United States as tyrannous and oppressive.

After ten hours of this oratory, pro and con, it was suggested that a vote be taken on the proposition submitted by the commissioners, but the members of the committee were afraid to put it to vote. Another effort was made, and this time it was proposed that the vote be by ballot, but still objection was urged, the fear evidently being that the identity of the individual voters might be revealed by their handwriting.

All this shows what uncertainty prevailed as to the exact sentiment of the gathering, and the fear that many had of going on record as favoring submission and then finding themselves in the minority. But a way of taking an absolutely secret ballot was finally evolved. The secretary was instructed to prepare as many ballots as there were voters, writing "yea" on one end and "nay" on the other. The voters were to sever their ballots, voting one end and destroying the other. When the vote was taken thus and counted, it was found that thirty-four had voted in favor of submission and twenty-three against.

The result was a surprise, even to those who had voted in the affirmative. It showed that of the representative men who made up the committee, whatever might have been the the sentiment before, a decided majority were now in favor of submission to the law and the authority of the existing government.

Those who had voted that way now put on a bolder front, and the opposition had little to say. Resolutions were adopted by the committee without further opposition, that it was to the best interests of the people to accede to the proposals of the commissioners, but the delegates took no further action in line with the requirement that they "explicitly declare their determination to submit to the laws of the United States," and unfortunately another resolution adopted asked for a modification of the terms proposed and for more time to consider them.

ANOTHER CONFERENCE ASKED.

The Brownsville meeting appointed another committee of conference, but the commissioners refused to grant any modification of the terms they had laid down, saying they had neither the authority nor the disposition to do so. A few days later another committee appeared, but to what source of authority it owed its existence was not stated. It made further demands on the commissioners and manifested a further disposition to temporize. This had its effect on the commissioners, and they replied with promptness and emphasis that they could not consider any further propositions and that the vote on submission would be taken on the date first fixed, then ten days in the future. The commissioners evidently were disappointed in the outcome of their mission thus far, for they wrote as follows in acknowledging the report of the committee from the Brownsville meeting:

"We learn with emotions difficult to be repressed that in the meeting of the committee at Redstone resistance to the laws and open rebellion against the United States were publicly advocated, and that two-fifths of the body, representing twenty-three townships, totally disapproved of the proposals and preferred the convulsions of a civil contest to the indulgence offered them by their country. Even the members composing the majority, though by a secret and indistinguishable vote, they expressed an opinion that it was the interest of the people to accede to the proposals, they did not themselves accede to them nor give the assurances nor make the recommendations explicitly required of them. They have adjourned without day, and the terms are broken on their part.

"We had reasons for requiring these declarations and recommendations from that body. They were a representation (in fact) of the different townships of the western counties—they were a body in whom

the people had chosen to place confidence—there were among them men whose advice and example have had influence in misleading the people, and it was proper they should be instrumental in recalling them to their duty.

"The President of the United States, while he demands satisfactory proofs that there will be in the future perfect submission to the laws, does not wish the great body of the people should be finally concluded by the conduct or proceedings of the committee, and if the people themselves will make the declaration required of the standing committee and give satisfactory proofs of a general and sincere determination to obey the laws, the benefits offered may still be obtained by those individuals who shall explicitly avow their submission as hereinafter mentioned."

The commissioners followed this by recommending a general vote of the people for or against submission, directing how it should be taken and who should vote.

The facts concerning the matters referred to in the foregoing paragraphs have been gone into at some length, because it has been claimed that the sending of the army was not justified; that it was sent against a people who were not then in insurrection and who would have brought about orderly enforcement of the law of themselves. The attentive student of the events can form his own conclusions concerning this, with the facts before him.

ARMY SENT FROM EAST.

The vote when taken showed that less than one-fourth of the number of taxables, and probably less than one-sixth of those classed as voters on this proposition (males of eighteen years and over) voted for submission. The vote against submission was much smaller than this, but many of the notoriously unrepentant refused to vote at all. The commissioners returned to the East and reported that the committee with whom they had treated had failed to give the required assurance, that the vote taken had been wholly unsatisfactory, and that in their opinion the excise law could not yet be enforced in the western country by the officers appointed for the purpose. As a result of this, the army now mobilized and increased to 15,000 men, was ordered to take up its march over the mountains. It was to proceed in two wings, one composed of the troops of eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, which would march by

the Pennsylvania and Glade roads; the other, composed of Maryland and Virginia troops, to follow the old Braddock road into western Pennsylvania; both wings to form a junction near the main center of disturbance in the years past. A few paragraphs from "Sim Greene" tell this part of the story with succinctness:

"Gen. Henry Lee, then Governor of Virginia, the 'Light Horse Harry' of Revolutionary fame, was appointed to command the army. Governors Howell and Mifflin respectively commanded the New Jersey and Pennsylvania soldiers, Gen. Smith those of Maryland, and Gen. Daniel Morgan, another hero of the Revolution, those of Virginia. The army, consisting of infantry, cavalry and artillery, all fully equipped for service, made a formidable array.

"A marked change now became apparent in the prevailing sentiment in the western country. For the first time some of the more violent of the insurgents seemed to be convinced that the government . . . . was ready to take decisive action to enforce the laws and punish those who should attempt to obstruct the process. There were still minor and sporadic cases of disorder, but for the most part the leaders in the opposition of the years before were concerned in how to escape the consequences of their conduct. Another meeting was held at Parkinson's Ferry, attended by delegates from all parts of the survey, and it appointed commissioners to proceed over the mountains and assure the President that the whole country was now pacified and submissive. Washington, who had come with the right wing of the army as far as Carlisle, received the commissioners kindly, gave them a patient hearing, but declined to stop the progress of the army, the presence of which, he was convinced, was needed in the western country to bring complete submission. But he assured the commissioners that no violence would attend the enforcement of the law if the army should meet with no resistance.

"Instructions in accordance with this were issued to the army, and the proclamation of Gen. Lee, on the occasion of his arrival at Uniontown, breathed the same spirit. There another commission met him, appointed on report of the first one, and gave assurance of complete submission. Gen. Lee received the gentlemen courteously, but replied that the best evidence of this would be the behavior of the people in the future. . . . Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, accompanied the army west, and participated in the judicial proceedings in connection with the inquiry made of matters pertaining to the Insurrection. The Nevilles, father and son, came west with the army, and the Inspector soon reopened his office and put the collectors to work."

The passage of the army over the mountains was a very

trying experience to the men composing it. Journals kept by some of them show that the weather for the most part was disagreeable. Cold and rain almost every day, with muddy roads which at their best were but indifferent highways, contributed to the discomforts of the journey. There are hints of a restless and turbulent spirit among many of the soldiers, and that they were loud in their threats against the insurgents for getting them into such experiences. The New Jersey troops felt that they had a special grievance, word having been carried to them of the taunts of Tom the Tinker's followers. It is recorded that before reaching the western counties the soldiers killed two men, and that they came vowing vengeance on all who should fall into their hands. It must have been a distinct shock to them to find a country absolutely peaceful, and not an armed man to oppose their progress when they finally did arrive. Such was the fact, for it is recorded that many men who had been active in the opposition disappeared within a few days, on the approach of the army—some going in hiding in the neighborhood, but more than one thousand leaving the state. Some of these came back after the trouble blew over, but many found permanent homes elsewhere.

By direction of the President, Judge Peters and District Attorney Rawle of the United States court, accompanied the army, to conduct such judicial proceedings as the occasion called for. As previously stated, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, also came, and participated in these proceedings. Gen Lee's instructions were to suppress armed opposition, if any should be met, and support the civil officers in the means of executing the law.

MOVEMENTS OF THE ARMY.

The histories of the Insurrection have been singularly silent as to the movements of the army while it was in the West. Particular attention has been given to that phase of the subject in the preparation of this paper, and it has required much study of the official orders that have been preserved, the letters of some personages in the expedition, and diaries still in existence, some of them yet in manuscript, to get a generally correct idea concerning this.

It is known that the army was dispersed, with encamp-

ments at various places within the disaffected district, and that in successive raids, often by night, many were gathered in, charged with having been engaged in the previous disorder. These were confined in the county jails or in detention camps until they could be given hearings. It was exceedingly difficult to secure evidence against the most of them, for the people generally were averse to testifying. As a matter of fact, there were very few of the men who were most wanted left in the region. Finally, after many had been let go, there were seventeen left in custody, and these were taken to Philadelphia, where they were held for a time, and finally tried. There was the same difficulty in getting evidence to convict at the trials as at the preliminary hearings. But two of the number were convicted, being adjudged guilty of treason and sentenced to death. They were subsequently pardoned by President Washington.

The main army was in the West only about three weeks. On the 29th of October the left wing crossed Laurel Hill and encamped in the outskirts of Uniontown. On the 2d of November it moved northward and went into camp at a point in Rostraver township, about midway between the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers. The right wing had arrived on the east side of the Youghiogheny river, near Budd's Ferry. It did not cross that stream at that time, but communications were established between the two wings of the army, and Gen. Lee had his headquarters at a point between the present towns of West Newton and Webster for at least a week, one of his proclamations being issued from that point under date of Nov. 9. He was in Pittsburg on Nov. 17, and on that date issued the general orders for the return march of the main part of the army from the western country. A letter from Secretary Hamilton to President Washington, dated at Pittsburg on the 19th, reports the army generally in motion homeward. It winds up with this sentence: "In five minutes I start for Philadelphia." Gen. Lee remained in the West for some time after the departure of the main body of the army, and on the 29th of November issued his proclamation of general amnesty from his headquarters at Elizabeth, thirty-three persons, whom he names, being excepted.

In the disposal of the soldiers after their arrival in the West, it has been noted that the right wing halted on the east side of the Youghiogheny. A considerable portion of these soldiers would seem not to have crossed that stream later. The New Jersey troops and part of those of Pennsylvania are known to have been in Washington county, but it appears that part of the Pennsylvania soldiers proceeded on to Pittsburg. The diary of William Michael, a hatter, of Lancaster, Pa., has been preserved. It tells of the soldiers going into camp about a mile from Budd's Ferry, where they remained until ordered to move on to Pittsburg. They marched east of the Youghiogheny, crossing Big Sewickley creek and proceeding to Pittsburg, where they went in camp on the Allegheny river, five miles from the town.

Most of the left wing of the army passed over into Washington county. Some of them went directly from Uniontown there. A letter from Hamilton to Washington, under date of Nov. 2, says: "Morgan with his command, including the whole of the Light Corps and perhaps part of the brigade of cavalry, will go into Washington county. It is not unlikely that a part of the troops will take a circuit by Pittsburg, for the more places they can appear in, without loss of time, the better. The quiescent state of the country renders the plan entirely safe. Boats, however, will be called on both waters to facilitate mutual communication and support."

VARIOUS PLACES OCCUPIED.

General Lee's general orders, issued on the 9th of November, tell of movements of the portion of the army left east of the Monongahela, as follows:

"Another month's pay being daily expected, the army will be mustered on the next ground, the right wing by Colonel ———— and the left by Major Pryor. The army will be ready to move towards Pittsburg in the following manner: The New Jersey Line, with Governor Howell, will immediately march to Brooks's, the cavalry to cross the river, one division, consisting of two hundred, to be sent to Washington town, to join the Light Corps, and the other division to be posted on the west side of the Youghiogheny, opposite the infantry camp. Four pieces of artillery will be annexed to this corps, and march with General Howell: Major General Irvine, with Chambers' brigade, one squadron of Pennsylvania cavalry and two three-pounders from the

park. The right column will advance on the 10th, at the hour of 8 in the morning. On the next day, at the same hour, his excellency, Governor Mifflin, will follow with Proctor's and Murray's brigade. The residue of the Pennsylvania cavalry and the park of artillery, and on the following day the New Jersey Line, under Howell, will march to the same place. Governor Mifflin will please to attach this evening or early in the morning, four six-pounders and two three pounders to Parkinson's Ferry, to join Brigadier General Matthews, who will move immediately to that place, and proceed early in the morning to Bentley's farm, on the west side of the Monongahela. He will pass the river at Parkinson's Ferry. The Maryland Line will move on the 11th, at the usual hour, to most convenient ground near Perry's Ferry, while General Smith will march the artillery of the left column on the present ground, and a squadron of the Virginia dragoons. Major Lewis, with the squadron now with him, will cross the Monongahela at the next convenient ferry near him, and join Gen. Matthews tomorrow evening at Bentley's farm, below Parkinson's. The particular routes and stages will be communicated by letter to the different Generals. Captain Dick's squadron of dragoons will continue at Burnsville and receive orders from the commander-in-chief."

It is evident that a considerable portion of the army never got to Pittsburg. All efforts to identity the locations of Brooks's and Burnsville, mentioned in the foregoing orders, have been unavailing. The Bentley farm was at the mouth of Mingo creek, about two miles below Parkinson's Ferry, and Perry's Ferry was two miles up the Monongahela from Elizabeth, about where old Lock No. 3 was located. The camps at both of these places were in existence and commanded by the same officers when the order was issued by Gen. Lee for the return march of the main army, and the soldiers who were encamped at Washington marched directly to Uniontown. This order, issued at Pittsburg on the 17th of November, directed that this march should be in the following order: The Pennsylvania artillery, Major General Irvine's and Proctor's brigade by the old Pennsylvania road, Tuesday. The next day the New Jersey Line by the same route to Bedford, and then by what route was found most convenient by Governor Howell. The following day the residue of the Pennsylvania Line, under Brig. Gen. Chambers. Brig. Gen. Smith, with the Maryland Line, to Uniontown, thence by Braddock's road to Fort Cumberland, and by the most convenient routes from there. Brig. Gen. Matthews on Wednesday to Morgantown, thence to Win-

chester, by way of Frankfort, with the Virginia troops. "As soon as the public service will permit afterwards, the Elite Corps, under Gen. Dark, will follow the same route."

Concerning the force under Gen. Daniel Morgan, which was encamped at Washington all the time the main army was in the West, Boyd Crumrine, Esq., president of the Washington County Historical Society, says: "Tradition, which in this matter is satisfactory to me, says that the detachment of the United States forces which came to Washington, encamped in the college campus, resulting in the cutting and burning of many of the forest trees still in the campus. The only college building then in the campus was the old stone building now in the center of the old college, behind the Thompson library building. That old original building was made of dressed limestone, and was built in 1793, the year preceding the coming of the soldiers. I am not sure that Harry Lee came with them; but it has been handed down that the officers of the detachment had their headquarters in an old two-story frame house on the west side of Main street, on the second lot from Cherry alley, which bonuds the court house lot, and that the United States flag floated from that building during the winter of 1794, or part of it. The frame house referred to was occupied by the father of John Slater at the beginning of the Civil War, but it has been replaced by a brick building."

It is very certain that Gen. Lee did not go with the soldiers when they went to Washington, and it cannot be learned that he was there at all. It is certain, however, that Secretary Hamilton was there. He wrote a letter which was dated at the "Town of Washington, Nov. 15," to the President, in which he mentioned the names of a number of those prominent in the Insurrection, then in custody. He evidently went by way of Washington to Pittsburg, for he wrote from the latter place two days later. Gen. Lee was in Pittsburg at the same time and wrote on the same date, so he may have accompanied Hamilton in his round-about course to Pittsburg by way of Washington.

SOLDIER'S INTERESTING DIARY.

The diary of Major Spear, who was an officer under Morgan, now preserved in manuscript in the library of the Penn-

sylvania Historieal Society at Philadelphia, gives some interesting facts concerning the Washington encampment, with sidelights on the doings of the time. Some extracts from it follow, beginning with the time of leaving Uniontown:

Nov, 5, Wednesday. Orders to march to Catfish, otherwise called Washington town. Crossed Redstone creek. Saw there a hollow tree that would hold about twelve men. Then we marched through Washington's valley, lying in the woods, without tents. Distance, nineteen miles.

6, Thursday. Marched three or four hours. Halted two hours, the general officers being at a loss which road to take. Pioneers sent forward to make a new road through the woods. Marched about two miles and within about five miles of Parkinson's Ferry. Encamped in the woods. Distance, about six miles this day.

7, Friday. Marched by daybreak from thence, leaving the artillery and Generals Smith and Matthews' brigades. Crossed Carson's ferry on the Monongahela in boats. Saw two Kentucky boats with families on board, going down the river. Crossed Pigeon creek about twelve times. At Bogg's (say near McAllister's tavern, the sign of the Black Horse) we were without tents. Distance, fifteen miles.

8, Saturday. Marched into Catfish Camp, otherwise called Washington town. Encamped in the woods, a few paces from the road. This place the principal seat of the insurgents, and the residence of Bradford. Distance, about fifteen miles.

9, Sunday. Divine service held in the court house by the Rev. Mr. C. Welsh, who delivered a well adapted discourse from the words, "Fight the good fight of faith," I Tim. VI:12. Capt. Machinheimer's company marched in uniform and part of the battalion attended. This day arrived part of the Pennsylvania Light Troops, commanded by Gen. Frelinghuysen, consisting of riflemen and infantry, two pieces of artillery and horse, one company of regular infantry and one company of horse.

10, 11. Nothing remarkable.

12, Wednesday. Punishment inflicted on a Virginia soldier—thirty-nine lashes and drummed out of camp, for stealing a check.

13, Thursday. This day plenty of fowls and pork. Fowls, 6d per pair; pork, 3d; flour, 2d; butter, 9d. Commissary out of flour. Double rations of liquor allowed.

14, Friday. Snow, Some flour today. The judge proceeded to examine the insurgents brought in by the horsemen. Horsemen still out in quest of the insurgents, who are brought in daily.

15, 16. Snow. 15th, orders to march to Fort Pitt. 16, countermanded, and ordered to march to Muddy creek. Seventy insurgents in the provost guard, forty-nine of them having been brought in at one time, on the 15th.

17. Marched 16 miles towards Uniontown. Lodged in houses at Capt. Bell's.

18. From thence to Uniontown, and crossed the Monongahela at Redstone Old Fort. Bad roads.

19. Arrived at Uniontown and billeted in houses, and a party of Capt. Machinheimer's company, consisting of twelve men, attended the funeral of Lieut. Robert Jones, belonging to Col. Hunter's regiment, Ottoway county, Virginia. We buried him with the honors of war.

20. Rainy. (Here the diary ends abruptly.)

A diligent effort has been made to locate Carson's ferry, mentioned in the foregoing extracts. The surmise of Dr. J. S. Van Voorhis of Belle Vernon, that Castner's ferry was meant, seems most probable. He says: "Its location is still remembered. It was just above the [present] town of Webster and just below [the site of] Donora, better known as Columbia. It was a ferry as early as 1786, and the Pittsburg Gazette was carried by flatboat and distributed among its subscribers along the river as far as Castner's ferry, as noted in No. III of the same paper, in September, 1786. That ferry was older than Parkinson's."

ALLEGED BRUTALITY OF SOLDIERS.

Some accounts of the arrests of insurgents made by the soldiers dwell on the alleged brutality displayed, but in the main these seem to be greatly overdrawn, so far as they relate to the conduct in general. Where there was a disposition to exhibit such a spirit, proper restraint was compelled by the officers. But an exception to this seems to have been the case in the northeastern section of Washington county and just over the line in Allegheny county, which was the main center of the insurrectionary spirit. The New Jersey troops were charged with the rounding up of fugitives in that section, and they were smarting under epithets applied to them by insurgents, many of whom resided in that quarter. On the night of the 13th of November, and early on the morning of the 14th, when there was a concerted move all through the scenes of the lately ended Insurrection, they displayed great brutality towards those whom they apprehended, and seem to have been urged on by their commander, General White. This is recorded by both of the contemporaneous historians, and without

doubt it lost nothing in the telling. Rev. Dr. Carnahan, who wrote long afterwards, from his own personal recollections, confirms the general fact, but testifies that in the main the conduct of the soldiers was exemplary.

An address issued by General Smith to the officers and soldiers of the Maryland brigade in camp on the Monongahela, above Elizabeth, and within a few miles of the scene of the events above referred to, is most interesting in this connection, especially since it is dated on the day following this general movement of arrest. It also is preserved in manuscript in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. It is addressed to his command as "Fellow Citizens in Arms", and is as follows:

"It is with pleasure that I congratulate you on the order to return to your own homes, after having performed the most sacred of all duties, that of having contributed to the support of our free and excellent government, and its laws, a duty which you have performed in a most severe and inclement season, and over the most mountainous and rugged part of America, with a fortitude and patience that does honor to yourselves and your country. You have assisted to convince the world that the free men of free republics can and will support their constitution, and that altho' a few may be deluded into errors by designing and ambitious men, yet that the great body of the people of America are lovers of order and are ready to risk their lives to prevent anarchy and confusion. Permit me to acknowledge personal obligations to you for the order and discipline that have reigned in the ranks, and for the able assistance I have received from the infinite attention to their duty that has been conspicuous among the officers. It is with the highest satisfaction that I can assert that you have literally obeyed the injunctions of our beloved President, that going to enforce the laws, you have carefully avoided the infraction of any. You will each of you return to your respective counties with considerable military information (which you will diffuse among our fellow citizens) strongly impressed with the necessity of an efficient and well organized militia."

CONTINGENT OF SOLDIERS LEFT.

Very early after the arrival of Gen. Lee and his army, two things became apparent: First, that there was no need for such a large force remaining in the western country; and, secondly, that it would not be prudent to withdraw all of the soldiers at once. So it was decided to leave a force of 1,500 men, to remain after the main army had departed. Gen. Daniel Morgan was appointed to command this force, and it was ar-

ranged that it should be constituted by volunteer enlistment for nine months, unless sooner discharged, and to be made up of one regiment of infantry, consisting of ten companies (one of these to be a rifle company), four troops of cavalry and one troop of artillery. Arrangements were made for allowing enlistment from all the commands represented in the army, so that all should have opportunity of participating in proper proportion. Some things in the correspondence of the time indicates that there was difficulty in making up the quota, and that the force was recruited up to the number desired by allowing the enlistment of some residents of the neighborhood.

This force had its main encamptment during the winter of 1794-5 on the west side of the Monongahela, two miles south of Elizabeth, on the same place where the Maryland troops, under Gen. Smith, had been encamped, as already noted. There they built huts for their winter cantonment, but there were detachments kept at the same time at Washington and at Pittsburg, and for a time a detachment of the cavalry was encamped in the vicinity of Ginger Hill, in Washington county. Some of the histories say the main encampment was at the mouth of Mingo creek, but that error doubtless grew from the fact, mentioned in some of the papers relating to the subject, that it was on the Bentley farm. A Bentley farm did exist at the mouth of Mingo creek and was the scene of encampment of a considerable force of the main army a little earlier, as has been seen, but the land titles of the vicinity show that the farm at the mouth of Lobb's run was also owned at that time by persons named Bentley.

At this place was the ferry sometimes called Perry's and sometimes McFarlane's, the Perrys owning the ground on the east side of the Monongahela and the McFarlanes on the west side, just above the Bentley place. This is well established, and the ferry was a well known one from a very early period. Gen. Morgan issued a proclamation dated "Bentley's Farm, Nov. 30." In December of the same year he wrote a letter to President Washington, which has been preserved, dated at "McFarland's Ferry," and another letter from the same place April 9, 1795. Persons yet living have had it from the lips of those who remembered the encampment of Morgan's soldiers

on the Bentley farm, at the mouth of Lobb's run. Many interesting relics of the encampment have been gathered on the ground there. Its exact location is at Floreffe on the Monongahela division of the Pennsylvania railroad.

One gruesome memorial of the encampment exists in a group of graves in the oldest corner of the old Lobb burying ground, near by. Smallpox broke out among the soldiers while they were encamped there, and a number of them died. Most of these graves are marked by simple rough stones, without inscriptions, but two of them have been given more care, doubtless by the friends in the homes left by the two young officers when they came with the army. The headstones, still in a good state of preservation, show these two to have been Captain Thomas Walker, of Albemarle county, Virginia, who died Jan. 16, 1795, aged 20 years, and Lieutenant Alexander Beall, of Berkeley county, Virginia, who died Jan. 11, 1795, aged 20 years.

Morgan's army remained in the West until the spring of 1795, and was then disbanded, the occasion for its continuance having ceased to exist, the country being thoroughly pacified. The letter of Gen. Morgan to President Washington, written soon after the establishment of his camp on the Monongahela, is interesting enough to reproduce here. He writes:

"The business of recruiting was put off too late. Had it been put in practice a week sooner, we could have engaged the number of men called for without difficulty. The pay will be an obstacle, and the clothing is not a sufficient inducement, or the people here don't like to wear that kind of clothing. Any number of cavalry could be raised here, but my opinion is that a great many more will be unnecessary for this service, as the alarm that these people have experienced is so great that they will never forget it, so far as to fly in the face of the law again. I am dealing very gently with them, and am becoming very popular, for which I am very happy. The names of those who have surrendered themselves to me are Arthur Gardner, George Parker, Ebenezer Gollohan (who broke out of jail at Pittsburg), John Colcraft (who broke away from the guard, coming up the river) and John Mitchell, who robbed the mail. John Colcraft, who gave himself up to me, is the old Tinker himself, not he that broke from the guard, coming up the river. Benjamin Parkinson and Dan Hamilton will be in tomorrow—at least they have so informed me."

VARIOUS RACES INVOLVED.

It has come to be regarded as an accepted fact that the Scotch-Irish were almost wholly responsible for the Insurrection The later histories of the struggle assume it, and one popular work, written with the doings of those times as its chief motive, specially emphasizes this idea. It is true that there were many of the Scotch-Irish people in the western country at that time, and some whole neighborhoods were largely peopled with them It is true also that many of them were active in the opposition to the government. But a careful examination of all the original sources of information accessible does not seem to warrant the crediting of these people with the whole opposition nor with the large share of the responsibility usually assigned to them.

These western counties filled up rapidly after the Revolution, and the population was a cosmopolitan one. Virginia and various sections of the East furnished great numbers, and many of these were born Americans, with several generations before them native to the soil. The various divisions of Great Britain contributed their quotas, and there was a considerable representation of Germans. Findley, in his history of the Insurrection, makes an incidental reference to the Germans who were engaged in the opposition to the excise laws, and in such terms as to leave the impression that they were here in considerable numbers and an element to be dealt with as an important consideration. There were various Quaker settlements also, but these people did not become involved, because of their policy of peace.

Among those who took a most prominent part in the movement of opposition to the excise, in the early stages, and some of whom continued their opposition to the end, were the following: John Hollcroft, an Englishman; Albert Gallatin, a Swiss; Rev. David Phillips, a Welshman; Benjamin Parkinson, a native of Pennsylvania; Rev. Herman Husbands, a German; David Bradford, a native of Maryland; Col. John Canon, supposed to be a native Virginian; Edward Cook, a native of Pennsylvania; and many others of these and other nationalities, besides, of course, a goodly number who were born in the north of Ireland. The list of names of those who were excepted from

the proclamation of amnesty and that of the men who were taken to Philadelphia for trial, as leaders in the excesses, do not show an overwhelming preponderance of Scotch and Irish names, as might be thought, in view of the generally existing belief.

SOME PROMINENT PARTICIPANTS.

There is material for a whole paper of the compass of this in interesting facts concerning many of the men who were prominently engaged in this early struggle—their characteristics, their antecedents, their homes and their environments. But only a few of these can be even mentioned, and that very briefly.

Col. Edward Cook, who presided at nearly all of the deliberative meetings of those who opposed the excise, first and last, was one of the most prominent men in the western country at that time. He was an adherent of the Penns in the controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to possession of southwestern Pennsylvania, and for a number of years held the then important position of County Lieutenant of Westmoreland county, which then comprised much of the region. He owned a plantation of 3,000 acres between the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers, and in 1772 built the first stone mansion in that region, which was so well built that it still stands and is habitable. He was a large owner of slaves, and with their labor carried on extensive agricultural operations. He laid out the town of Fayette City, which at first was called Cookstown.

Gen. John Neville, about whose head raged the storm of opposition to the government, because he was its most prominent representative in the attempt to enforce the excise law, was also a leading man of the region. He was a native of Virginia and served with distinction and honor as an officer of the patriot army in the Revolution. He had served in the Pennsylvania Legislature and in other offices of honor and trust, and was highly popular among his fellow citizens until he accepted his commission as Inspector of Revenue. Then he became bitterly hated. He also was a very wealthy man for the time. Secretary Hamilton estimated his loss in the destruction of his buildings and their contents at about $15,000. His son,

Col. Pressly Neville, lived across the creek from the parental mansion, in a house still standing in the outskirts of Woodville, and known as the Wrenshall house. The mansion on the hill was never rebuilt. Gen. Neville soon after that retired from active life and spent the remainder of his days on Montour's Island in the Ohio river, dying there early in the last century. The island later took his name, which it bears today, the only insular township in Allegheny county and probably in Pennsylvania.

John Hollcroft was a native of Lancashire, England, and was a prosperous farmer and distiller, who lived in Washington county, near the Allegheny county line, between the present towns of Finleyville and West Elizabeth. He was a man of consequence among his neighbors, and filled various local offices. He is known to have led the party which made the first attack on the house of Gen. Neville, in a demand for the surrender of his commission. It is not recorded that he was present on the following day when the house was destroyed, neither has anyone attempted to establish an alibi for him. His son Richard was charged at the time with having applied the brand to the Neville barn, from which the fire communicated to other buildings and finally to the dwelling house. John Hollcroft was very generally regarded at the time as the original "Tom the Tinker." This is brought out in Gen. Morgan's letter, already quoted, (though he does not get the name quite right.) Secretary Hamilton, in one of his letters to President Washington, written while he was in the West, says: "Gen. Lee just informs me that he has received a letter from Marietta, informing him of the apprehension of John Holcroft, the reputed 'Tom the Tinker,' and one Wright, a notorious offender." Denial was made, following the Insurrection, of his use of this designation, but his descendants of later generations have inclined to the belief that there was something in it. He left a numerous progeny, having been married twice and having ten children by each marriage. The log house in which he lived stood until recent years.

The McFarlane brothers, Andrew and James, were well known and prosperous men of the time. Of Scotch descent, but born in County Tyrone, Ireland, they engaged in trade with the

Indians soon after coming to the vicinity of Pittsburg. Andrew had a most interesting and even thrilling history. He was an adherent of the Penns, made a justice of the peace by the proprietary government, and was most vigorous in upholding their interests. In the clash of authority between Pennsylvania and Virginia over the possession of the territory about Pittsburg, he and two others were captured and taken to Staunton, Va., to answer for their opposition to Virginia's authority. After being held there a short time he was released and allowed to return to Pittsburg; but he had become the victim of a second capture while there, and in a short time went back to Staunton, whence he bore away as his bride a niece of Gen. Andrew Lewis, the hero of the battle of Point Pleasant. During the Revolution he was engaged in the commissary service for the patriot cause, and in February, 1777, was captured by a band of Indians, who were emissaries of the British, and taken to Canada, the object being to get some information from him as to the situation at and about Fort Pitt. He was held as a prisoner for more than three years, his family knowing nothing of his whereabouts for most of the time, but finally, through the intervention of his brother, who was an officer in the army, under Washington, he was exchanged. The accounts seem to agree that his influence was thrown for the preservation of peace and of property during the Whisky Insurrection, and that he took no active part in it.

His brother, James McFarlane, was a bachelor and owned land in various parts of Washington county, but seems to have made his home for the most part, with Andrew, whose house stood (and still stands) on the bank of the Monongahela, at what was McFarlane's Ferry between the present Floreffe and Elrama stations on the Monongahela division of the Pennsylvania railroad. The house is just within the limits of Allegheny county, the farm being partly in Allegheny and partly in Washington county. There the dead body of James was brought on the night of the burning of Gen. Neville's house, and was borne thence to the burying ground at Mingo church on the following day. James McFarlane served as a lieutenant in the First regiment of the Pennsylvania Line in the Revolution, and was a major of militia, in Col. John Hamil-

ton's regiment, when he met his death. He was held in very high regard by the people of his time. He accepted command of the force on the fatal day very reluctantly, and expressed the opinion on the way that it was an unwise proceeding. His companions in arms declared afterwards that his death was brought about by treachery, and they put the blame of it on Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, brother-in-law of Gen. Neville, who was in charge of the soldiers within the building at the time. A large stone slab over McFarlane's grave in Mingo cemetery bears the following inscription, now nearly illegible:

"Here lies the body of Capt. James McFarlane, of Washington county, Pa., who departed this life on the 17th of July, 1794, aged 43 years. He served during the war with undaunted courage in defense of American independence, against the lawless and despotic encroachments of Great Britain. He fell at last by the hands of an unprincipled villain, in support of what he supposed to be the rights of his country, much lamented by a numerous and respectable circle of acquaintance."

The man who was killed in the first attack on the Neville house was Oliver Miller, whose home was in the present Snowden township, Allegheny county. He was one of the justices for Virginia and sat, with others, in the sessions of its Yohogania county court, which before and during the Revolution, held its sessions in a log court house, built on a bluff, overlooking the Monongahela river and the scene of Gen. Morgan's winter encampment, before referred to. There were five others hurt in the same attack, but it is not known certainly that the injuries of any of these were fatal. Some besides McFarlane were wounded in the second day's fight. There are three graves in an old burying ground adjoining Elizabeth, which dates back to that time, and marked by initials only on the rough stones set up over them. It has long been a tradition of the place that these were the tombs of men who were victims of the bullets of Gen. Neville's defense force in one of these attacks.

Albert Gallatin's brilliant career is part of the nation's history. Of Swiss birth, he spoke English but imperfectly when these troubles broke out. He was successively member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, of both houses of Congress, Secretary of the Treasury and diplomatic representative of the gov-

ernment at some of the prineipal European eourts. He was an Anti-Federalist in polities, and was aetive in opposition to the excise law, but when he saw the eourse extremists were taking, threw all of his great influence for the stopping of armed resistanee to the government and for eomposing the differenees. His fine home was at Friendship Hill, in Fayette county, overlooking the Monongahela, and near to the village of New Geneva, which he founded. His last days were lived in New York City.

Alexander Hamilton was an actor in these events only as they trenched on his financial polieies, and was not, like all of the others here mentioned, a resident of the western eountry. His notable eareer and untimely end are well known.

Benjamin Parkinson lived on the main road between the present Monongahela City and Washington, nine miles from the former. He was an extensive land owner, a farmer, distiller and hotel keeper. He was one of the few leaders in the revolt who was, or at least had been until that time, a staunch Federalist. But he was president of the soeiety organized at Mingo ehureh under the influenee of the French Demoeratie elub movement; was one of the directing eommittee of three in eharge of the demonstration against Gen. Neville when his house was burned; was one of those interested in the mail robbery plot; a signer of the call for the Braddoek's Field gathering; and was prominent in many other activities of the time in opposition to the exeise. Like many others, he was missing when the army came to the west, and his name heads the list of those proseribed when the amnesty proelamation was issued. But in Mareh 1797, he was pardoned by President Washington. The interesting doeument whieh proelaims this aet of elemeney is now in the possession of Joseph A. Herron of Monongahela.

Col. John Canon, founder of Canonsburg, was one of the justiees of the Yohogania eounty eourt of Virginia. He was in the mail robbery plot, one of the signers of the eall for the Braddoek's Field gathering and in other ways prominent in the opposition to the government.

David Bradford was a lawyer, a resident of Washington and at the time of the eulmination of the Insurreetion was

Proseeuting Attorney for the eounty. He eame here from Maryland, where he had served in the Legislature. His eontemporaries have left reeord that it was only after pressure and even threats that he took his stand against the government, but when the die was cast he went the whole limit. He was ambitious, and saw in it seeming opportunities of personal advancement. He proposed secession from the Union and the creation of an independent state. The Braddoek's Field assemblage and proposed eapture of the arms and equipments in the military post at Pittsburg were of his planning, as was the robbery of the mail. In the meetings in an effort to reaeh a settlement satisfaetory to the eommissioners of the government, he fought to the last ditch, but was among the first to sign the submission, and then, feeling that this would not save him, eseaped down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to Louisiana, where his future life was lived and where he became a sueeessful planter. His house, fronting on Main street, in Washington, was one of the best of its time, and is still standing.

Col. James Marshall was another prominent man of the time. At the formation of Washington county he was made its County Lieutenant, an office of great honor existing at that time and involving ehief eommand of the militia of the eounty. He had served also as sheriff and was at that time County Reeorder. He was one of those who gathered for the reading of the letters abstraeted from the mail, a signer for the eall for the Braddock's Field assemblage and prominent in many other acts in opposition to the government.

Col. John Hamilton, eommander of the Mingo regiment of militia, whieh was most aetive in the Insurreetion, does not seem to have taken any part in the excesses of the time, but he was one of those taken as a prisoner to Philadelphia. He was sheriff of Washington eounty. His relative, David Hamilton, a younger man, was in the plot to rob the mail, and aetive in other ways in the Insurreetion.

William Findley, the representative in Congress from Westmoreland eounty, is not mentioned as taking a prominent part, in any of the histories of the Insurreetion, exeept that he was one of the two men sent by the western people to eonfer with Washington in an effort to have the army turned baek.

after its westward march had begun. But he felt called upon after the Insurrection to write his book of defense of his own actions and position, in which he took occasion to lampoon the Federal administration. He was prominent in politics for some years afterwards. He was not the William Findley who became Governor of the State.

Much has already been said of Hugh H. Brackenridge. He was at that time regarded as the leading member of the legal profession in the west. He was a graduate of Princeton, and his scholarship is evinced in a number of books, the product of his pen. He was a most eccentric man and was a bitter controversialist, as the newspaper files of his time bear record. During the troublous times he was often called upon for counsel, and such was his finesse that he retained the confidence of most of those actively engaged in opposition to the government, though often succeeding in turning them from an avowed purpose. After the Insurrection he was called to account by the judiciary corps, accompanying the army, for some of the things he had said and done, but cleared himself, though years afterwards a bitter controversy raged over the question of what was his real attitude. A careful study of the whole question, with all the sources of information now at hand, leads to the conclusion that he was the friend of law and order through all of the trying times, and did valuable service in the composing of the differences. He was a Scotchman by birth, though he came to this country young with his parents. He had served in the Legislature before, and was active in the movement which resulted in the formation of Allegheny county. He was a candidate for Congress at the time of the culmination of the Insurrection, but was defeated by Albert Gallatin. Governor McKean appointed him a Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1800, and he served in that capacity until his death in 1816.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion it may be said that those who were active in the opposition to the government are to be judged with some regard to the time in which they lived and the circumstances surrounding them, and to shed some light on these things has

been one of the objects of this paper. While the wrong of their action is not to be condoned, all are not to be too severely condemned. As has been pointed out, men of commanding influence were the earliest offenders, and many followed heedlessly where they led. Some of these early saw that the fire they had kindled could not easily be quenched or even controlled, but they gave their efforts earnestly to that end. Others thought they saw in it an opportunity for gratifying selfish ambition, and followed the course which led to rank treason.

As pointed out earlier, some good came of it. One immediate result was the distribution, by payment to the soldiers, of more money than the western country ever saw before that time, and this, without doubt, had much to do with softening the asperites and making the people more contented with their lot. The Insurrection brought many new settlers into the west who first saw it as soldiers; it brought about a better acquaintance and better understanding between the two sections separated by the mountains; but more important than all else, it established the fact that the government was strong enough to crush out opposition to its authority from within, and emphasized that other fact which many have been slow to learn, even in later times—that the United States government is not a mere loose compact of sovereign states for convenience, to be dissolved at the will of any, but that it ~~it~~ is a Nation, one and indissoluble.

INDEX

Adventurers left by Revolution, 13.
Amnesty proclamation issued, 38.
Archives, Pennsylvania, 9
Army for suppression—Greater than Washington commanded at Yorktown, 6; call for mobilizing, 30; sent from east, 35; commanded by Gen. Henry Lee, 36; principal officers, 36; stoppage of progress refused by Washington, 36; Secretary Hamilton accompanied, 36; discomforts of passage over mountains, 37; movements in the west, 37; how dispersed, 39; order for return march of main part, 40; contingent left in west, 45; smallpox among soldiers, 46

Bentley farm, at mouth of Mingo creek, 40, 45.
Bentley farm, near Elizabeth, 45.
Bibliography of Insurrection, 7.
Bower Hill, Neville country home, 23.
Brackenridge, Hugh H., wrote first book on Insurrection, 8; feud with Neville-Craig families, 8; counselled against warlike declaration, 25; at Parkinson's Ferry meeting, 28; at Brownsville meeting, 33; performed valuable service, 54; sketch of, 54.
Brackenridge, H. M., author, 9.
Braddock's Field—Assemblage called there, 25; Pittsburg delegation to, 27.
Bradford, David—Took leading part at Mingo church meeting, 25; ambitious, but weak and vacillating, 25; at zenith of his popularity, 27; declared for war, 28; declared for creation of independent state, 31, 33, 53; sketch of, 47, 52; proposed secession, 53; escaped down the Ohio river, 53.
Brownsville meeting, 32.
Brutality of soldiers alleged, 43, 44.

Canon, John, sketch of, 47, 51.
Carnahan, Dr. James—Educator and author, 9; quotation from, 44.
Carnegie Library at Pittsburg, literature of Insurrection, 10.
Carson's Ferry, 42.
Castner's Ferry, 43.
Causes of outbreak, 7.
Character of inhabitants, 13.
Collectors of excise—Intensely hated, 16; resolutions against, 16; mobbed, 17.
Commission of insurgents sought to stay advance of army, 36.
Commissioners of government—Appointed, 30; refused concessions asked, 34.
Conclusion, 54.
Conditions likened to those against which people fought in the Revolution, 21.
Congress—Passed excise law, 11; modified the law, 20,
Contingent of army left in west, 45.
Contributory influences, 10.
Cook, Col. Edward—Active in early moves against excise law, 17; at Parkinson's Ferry meeting, 25; sketch of, 47, 48.
Cost of suppressing Insurrection, 6.
Couch's Fort, rendezvous of insurgents, 22.
Craig, Neville B., author, 8.
Creigh's History of Washington County, 9.
Crumrine, Boyd, quoted, 41.
Crumrine's History of Washington County, 9.
Crushing out Insurrection gave added prestige to nation, 7, 55.

Debt left by Revolution, 11.
Democratic societies, 18.
Discomfort of army in the mountains, 37.
Distilleries, many of them, 16.

Earlier secession sentiment, 14.
Early accounts—Naturally biassed, 8; colored subsequent historical statement, 8.
Edgar, James, advocated submission, 33.
Elizabeth, Gen. Lee's amnesty proclamation issued from, 36.
European powers interested, 6.
Evidence against offenders, hard to get, 38.
Excise act of state repealed, 12.
Excise act—Passed by Congress, 11; predju-

INDEX

dice against it, 11; always unpopular in Pennsylvania, 12; actively opposed, 16; prominent men in opposition, 16; collectors cordially hated, 16; modified by Congress, 20.

Feud in Brackenridge-Neville-Craig families, 8.
Findley, William—Wrote history of Insurrection, 8; opposed administration measures, 10; history quoted, 47; sketch of, 53.
Foreign influence, 12.
Foreword, 3.
Fort Fayette, plan to attack and despoil, 26.
Fourth Survey of Pennsylvania—How composed, 8; population, 15.
French Revolution made impression, 12.

Gallatin, Albert—Protested against excise law, 17; advocated submission to law, 28; at Brownsville meeting, 33; sketch of, 47, 51.
Gazette, Pittsburg, 19, 43.
General conditions, 11.
Genet, French Minister—Embarrassed administration, 12; recalled, 13.
Good results, 7, 55.
Government script depreciated, 11.
Government's requirements of insurgents, 31.

Hamilton, Alexander—Wrote account of Insurrection, 9; as Secretary of Treasury, helped to shape Washington's policies, 10; accompanied army west, 36; quotation from letter, 49; reference to, 52
Hamilton, Daniel, a leader, 46, 53.
Hamilton, Col. John, not an active participant, 53.
Herron, Joseph A. has Benjamin Parkinson's pardon, 52.
Hollcroft, John—Led first expedition against Neville house, 22; alleged "Tom the Tinker," 46, 49; sketch of, 47, 49.
Howell, Governor, commanded New Jersey troops, 36.
Hushands, Rev. Herman, 47.

"Incidents of the Western Insurrection," first history of the events, 8.
Independent state declared for, 31.
Insurgent leaders disappeared, 37.
Insurgents taken to Philadelphia for trial, 38.
Insurrection—Figures as a minor episode in the general histories, 5; a menace to the nation's existence, 6; cost of its suppression, 6; first serious revolt against the United States government, 7; bibliography, 7; crushing out gave prestige to nation, 7, 55
Introductory, 5.
Irvine-Washington correspondence, 14.

Journal of Major Spear.

Kirkpatrick, Major Abraham—Commanded defense force at Neville house, 22; barn burned, 28; charged with treacherously causing James McFarlane's death, 51.

Leaders disappeared on approach of army, 37.
Leading men the prime movers in the opposition to excise law at the first, 17.
Lee, Gen. Henry, Governor of Virginia—Commanded the army sent into the disaffected region, 31; issued proclamation on reaching Unlontown, 36; issued amnesty proclamation at Elizabeth, 38.
Lenox, Major, United States marshal—serv warrants on offenders, 21; escaped down Ohio river, 24.
Liberty poles, 20, 29, 3[illegible].

Mail robbery, 25.
Marshall, James—Participated in the Mingo church meeting, 25; at Parkinson's Ferry meeting, 28; sketch of, 53.
Mifflin, Governor, commanded Pennsylvania troops, 36.
Miller, Oliver, killed—sketch of, 22, 51
Mingo Presbyterian church—First expedition against Gen. Neville's house started from, 21; meeting place of insurgents, 24.
Moravian Indian massacre, 13.
Morgan, Gen. Daniel—Commanded Virginia troops, 36; commanded contingent of army left in west, 44; place of winter encampment, 45.

McFarlane, Andrew, sketch of, 50.
McFarlane, Major James—Led second attack on Neville house, 22; killed during attack, 23; sketch of, 50.
McFarlane's Ferry, 45.

Neville, Gen. John—Inspector of Excise in Fourth Survey of Pennsylvania, 8, 20; attack on home, 21; second attack on house, 22; property destroyed, 23; escaped down Ohio river. 24; returned with army, 36; sketch of, 48.
Neville, Col. Pressly, son of Inspector, 23, 36, 49.
New Jersey militia—Ridiculed, 31; took vengeance, 43.
Not all were disloyal, 19.

INDEX

Parkinson, Benjamin—President of Mingo Democratic Society, 22; sought by soldiers, 46; pardon still preserved, 52; sketch of, 52.
Parkinson's Ferry—Place of great delegate meeting, 28; second meeting, 36.
Pennsylvania Historical Society at Philadelphia, literature of Insurrection in library, 10.
Pennsylvania State Archives—Volume devoted to Insurrection, 9; data of, 42, 44.
Pennsylvania State excise law repealed, 12.
Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary controversy, 14.
Perry's Ferry, 40, 45.
Persecution of those who complied with the law, 17.
Peters, Judge, with the army, 37.
Phillips, Rev. David, 47.
Pittsburg Gazette—Involuntary organ of Insurgents, 19; distributed by boat, 43.
Pittsburg people—Gained enmity of insurgents, 27; force marched there from Braddock's Field, 27.
Place of encampment, Morgan's contingent of army, 45.
Politics had to do with revolt, 10.
Prestige added to nation by crushing out Insurrection, 23.
Prominent men led opposition, 16, 48.
Property of excise collectors destroyed, 17.

Quakers not involved, 47.

Rawle, United States District attorney, with army, 37
Reign of terror, 18.
Resolutions at Parkinson's Ferry meeting, 30.
Resolutions against collectors, 16.
Revolution, hardship of western people, 14.
Ross, James commissioner of the government, 30.
Scotch-Irish—prejudice against excise, 11; not the whole opposition, 11, 47.
Scull, John, editor Pittsburg Gazette, 19.
Secession declared for, 32.
Secession sentiment earlier, 14.
Second attack on Neville house, 22.
Secret societies, 13, 18.
Smallpox among soldiers in winter encampment, 46.
Smith, Gen., commander of Maryland troops, 36.
Soldier's interesting diary, 41.
Soldiers left in west, 44.
Spark to the tinder, 21.
Spear, Major, diary, 41.
Spirits a medium of exchange, 15.
State sovereignty versus Federalism, 7.

"Tom the Tinker," 19, 31, 37, 46, 49.

Uniontown, proclamation of Gen. Lee issued from, 36.

Van Voorhis, Dr. J. S., quoted, 43.
Various races involved, 47.
Virginia-Pennsylvania boundary controversy, 14.
Vote of committee for and against submission, 33.
Vote of people on submission, 35.

Washington, Pa., encampment of soldiers, 41, 42.
Washington, President—Recognized great peril, 6; sought to compose differences without resort to force, 6; proclamation against treason, 29; issued call for mobilization of army, 30; appointed commission to try to avert necessity of sending army, 30; refused to stay army's march, 36.
Whisky—Its general use, 15; used in place of money, 15.
Williamson, David, leader of force that massacred Moravian Indians, 14.

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